

CHAPTER 3e

ANATOLIA

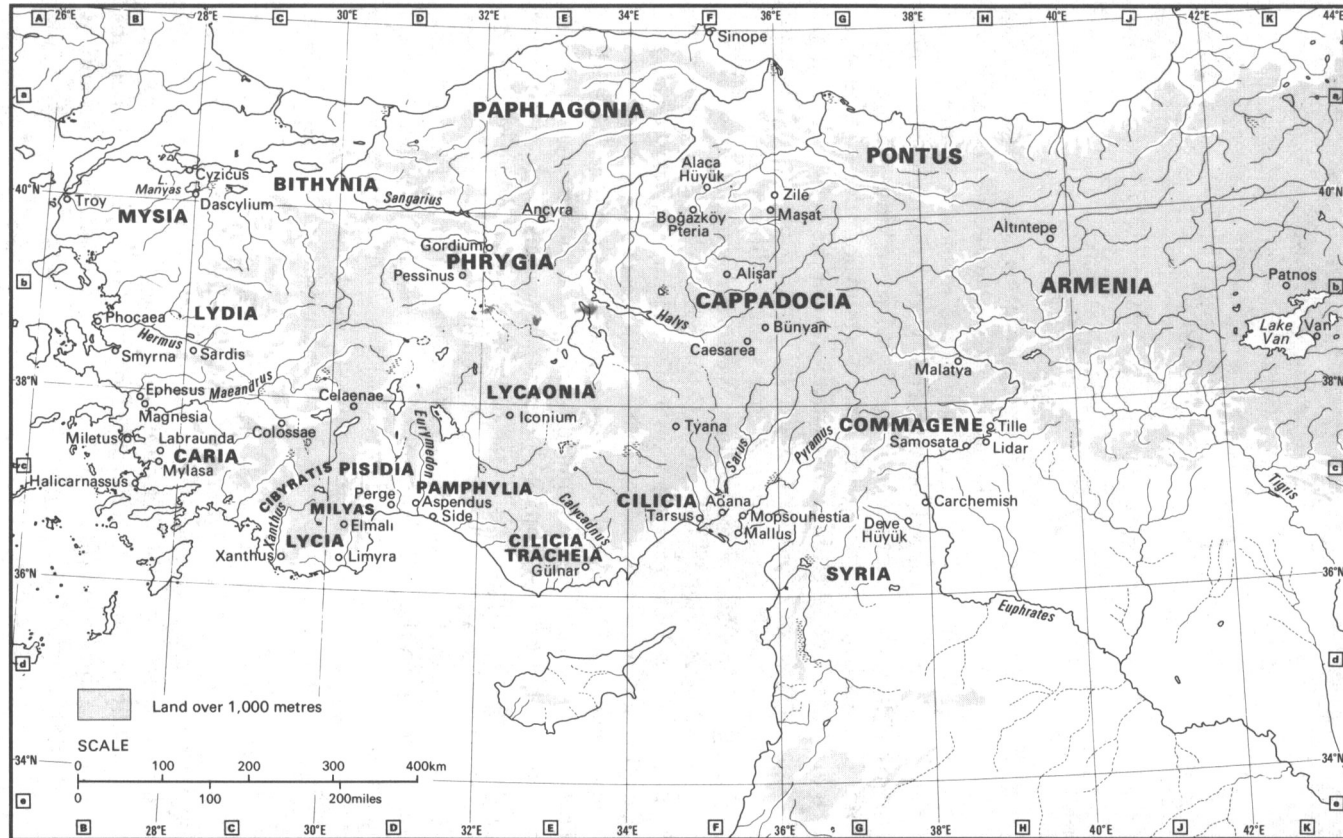
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The Persian rule over Anatolia under Darius and Xerxes was a continuation of the take-over initiated by Cyrus when he pushed across the Halys to Lydia and captured Sardis, the residence of the Lydian dynasty and *de facto* capital of Western Anatolia after the Phrygian collapse in the early seventh century B.C. The Lydian kings gradually had claimed a small empire beyond their own ethnic boundaries, extending their authority over the Phrygian plateau west of the Halys and making use of what must have been a traditional system of control through garrisons in citadels, tax collection and safeguarding of roads.

The major problem of controlling Western Anatolia was symbiosis with the Greeks. This is also an old story. Land-bound rulers of the Anatolian plateau need to come to an understanding with the coastal and island dwellers of the Aegean to live in mutual peace and prosperity; they have to make their political status clear and strong along the borders. This was true in the second millennium B.C. of the Hittites and their Aegean neighbours (including Ahhiyawa). It was also evident to every Lydian king from Gyges on that the Ionians and Carians had to be made into constructive allies as seafaring merchants and soldiers. Struggles with the Ionians marked the rules of the kings before Croesus, concentrating on the great harbour city of Miletus with which Alyattes finally established a peaceful alliance. Miletus–Millawanda had been the key site also in the days of the Ahhiyawa and Hittites, and the major troubles of those days came from the Achaean allies of Miletus overseas in Greek territory.

The Persians inherited the Aegean problem that the Lydians had begun to resolve. Neither Persians nor Lydians were sea-farers; the Ionians and Carians were needed by both; culturally the Ionians had an enviable heritage; an ambivalent situation existed which could be swung into hostilities by outside interference from the Greek side. The Persians fell victim to this, resulting in a major defeat when their kings attempted to extend their land-bound empire to the Aegean realm. As before, the troubles centred on Miletus and its Greek allies.

When Cyrus conquered the Lydian kingdom, he wisely continued to



Map 8. Anatolia.

rule Lydia and its West Anatolian realm from the capital at Sardis, situated well inland in the fertile Hermus valley along the main road descending from the Anatolian plateau to the west coast. The Lydian network of communications was kept intact. The acropolis and fortified lower city of Sardis with their spectacular terraced buildings were repaired and kept in use. The principal spoken and written language remained Lydian. Greek was prominent especially from the time of Croesus, and Aramaic was making its way as the administrative language for official usage by the Persians.

In Sardis, and from the cultural synthesis the Lydian kings had promoted in their openness to the Greeks as well as Egyptians, the Persian kings drew inspiration for their own creation of a cultural *koine* which was Ionian-Lydian-Achaemenid, especially in the realm of art and architecture. The West Anatolian process of cultural assimilation had been in progress for millennia, but the Lydians had given it new vigour in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. The art of the Persian empire owed a basic debt to the cultural satrapy centred on Sardis.

The various lists which give us the Anatolian peoples or administrative satrapies under Darius' control¹ emphasize the prominence of Sardis. The Bisitun inscription lists the peoples of Sparda-Sardis, Yauna-Ionia, Armina-Armenia, Katpatuka-Cappadocia; at Naqsh-e Rostam, Karka-Caria is added and the Ionians are divided in two groups. Herodotus III.89-97 lists a total of twenty satrapies with their financial obligations. The first satrapy includes Ionians, Magnesians, Aeolians, Carians, Lycians, Milyans and Pamphylians, a series of inhabitants of the west coast south of the Hellespont, then the Carians on the south-west coast, and on the south coast, the Lycians, Milyans (upland but in traditional close contact with the Lycian coast) and Pamphylians; all of these peoples partly Greeks overseas, partly hellenized Anatolians or vice versa. The second satrapy consists of Mysians, Lydians, Lasonians, Cabalians, and Hytenneis. These are the indigenous Lydians and their inland neighbours to the north (Mysians) and to the south east (the Cibyratis and part of Pisidia, with Luwian contingents). Sardis was in this satrapy. The third satrapy included the south shore of the Hellespont, the Phrygians and Asiatic Thracians, Paphlagonians, Mariandynians and Syrians (i.e. Cappadocians). This is the Daskylitis of Thucydides I.129.1, with the satrapal residence at Dascylium. The people belonging to it are those dwelling on the south shore of the Hellespont and Propontis, in the Pontic zones of Bithynia and Paphlagonia, and the inland zones of former Phrygia and Cappadocia which would have bordered on the Euphrates and Armenia. This then is

¹ B 44, 58, 77-90; B 45, 200-91; B 40, 47-56.

a large part of the non-Lyidian plateau, including sites which had been developed as strategic centres by the Phrygians in the eighth century B.C. The Phrygians and Thracians were Iron Age newcomers, the Pontic and Cappadocian peoples were largely of Bronze Age stock. It is noteworthy that the residential and administrative centre of this large and mixed district was in Dascylium, south east of Lake Manyas, on the north-west periphery of the third satrapy, a site whose early credentials remain unknown to us at this stage of exploration.

Herodotus' fourth satrapy was greater Cilicia which he does not define geographically. The region across the upper Euphrates, the former Urartu, with its Pontic neighbours was in the thirteenth satrapy, principally consisting of Armenia. Some East Anatolian tribes, the Moschoi and Tibarenoi, are listed in the nineteenth satrapy, along with the Makrones, Mossynoikoi and Mares who lived in Colchis.

Ethnographically these lists are important because they emphasize the persistence of the old tribal elements in the peripheral districts of Anatolia. Tribal distinctions would also be maintained in dialects, beliefs, customs and equipment, as noticeable again in Herodotus' listing (VII. 72-94) of the Anatolian contingents in the army and navy of Xerxes.

Herodotus knows the western satrapies and satraps best, and it is through him that we know of individual satraps before Darius' reorganization of the system, and of their behaviour after the death of Cambyses when Oroetes, satrap at Sardis, took advantage of the interregnum and assassinated Mitrobates, satrap at Dascylium, and his son Cranaspes in 522 B.C. (Hdt. III. 126). Darius had Oroetes executed by a special stratagem (III. 128).

Oroetes is said to have resided also at Magnesia on the Maeander (III. 122); this would be a border zone between Herodotus' first and second satrapy. A satrap Gadatas was apparently ruling here later in Darius' reign, to judge by a letter known indirectly from a late copy of the Greek translation, in which Gadatas is praised for the planting of trees from Syria, evidently in the development of an exotic botanical garden, but is told not to tax the sacred gardeners of Apollo and not to make them till profane soil against the policy of the Achaemenid dynasty.²

After the Scythian campaign Darius left Megabazus in command of military operations in Thrace and proceeded to Sardis (Hdt. v. 11) where he may have spent the winter of 513/12 waiting for the completion of the campaign. Megabazus joined him in 512. Darius appointed his half brother Artaphernes to be the satrap in Sardis and made Otanes, son of Sisamnes, general of the coastal forces as successor to Megabazus (v. 25). Otanes, like other Persian generals who operated in Anatolia, was a son-in-law of Darius. Darius departed for Susa taking Megabazus and

² M-L 20-2, no. 12.

Histiaeus along with him, leaving Artaphernes in charge of the satrapy.

In Dascylium, Oebares, son of Megabazus, appears as satrap before 493 (vi.33), but Herodotus has no detail on his rule except for the submission of Cyzicus. In 479 Xerxes appointed Artabazus to the satrapy in Dascylium, which then became hereditary (Thuc. i.129).

Greek information on the individual rulers appointed as satraps in Anatolia is meagre. The organization and relative wealth of the Anatolian districts becomes somewhat clearer through Herodotus' report of the tribute paid by each satrapy and through his listing of the Anatolian army and navy contingents in the early summer of 480, where the ethnic identifications of the infantry appear and summary descriptions of their attire are given. The number of ships and the names of the captains are important indications of the continuing nautical strength of the first satrapy and of Cilicia (Hdt. vii.72-99).

The first, coastal satrapy is represented by 30 ships from Pamphylia, 50 from Lycia with Kybernis(kos), son of (Kos)sikas in command, 70 from the Carians, whose leaders were Histiaeus son of Tymnes, Pigres son of Hysseldomus, and Damasithymus son of Candaules. Most famous of all was Artemisia daughter of Lygdamis of Halicarnassus, who brought five splendid ships. From Cilicia, the fourth satrapy, Syennesis came with 100 ships.

The second, Sardis satrapy sends infantry, Lydians with their neighbours to the north, Mysians, and to the south, Cabalians, Lasonians and Milyans (here grouped with the inland people). The other contingents of foot soldiers came from the Daskylitis, the third satrapy. Here we find Asiatic Thracians and Bithynians, Paphlagonians, Mariandynians as well as plateau dwellers of Phrygia and Cappadocia. From East Anatolia the thirteenth satrapy is represented with Armenians, and from the nineteenth we find Moschoi, Tibarenoi, Makrones and Mossynoikoi from the far shores of the Black Sea.

How all these troops of Xerxes marched to assembly points such as Critalla in Cappadocia (Hdt. vii.26), and where we are to locate this otherwise unknown strategic juncture of the Persian road system, is a matter of topographical analysis and reconstruction. We have a few more indications about the routes used in 480 than about the march of Mardonius' infantry from Cilicia to the Hellespont in 492 (Hdt. vi.43). Herodotus has Xerxes' troops cross the Halys from Cappadocia to south Phrygia and proceed to Celaenae-Dinar near the sources of the Maeander, where Xerxes later built a palace and a fortress on the acropolis (Xenophon, *Anab.* i.2.9). Pythius, the wealthy Lydian who entertained Xerxes' army at Celaenae, is a symbol of the region's prosperity. From there the road led to Colossae and westward to a boundary stone between Phrygia and Lydia at Cydrara, with an

inscription by Croesus. Here Herodotus is on familiar territory and describes the two branches of the Lydian road, the southern one into Caria, and the northern one to Sardis, along which Xerxes crossed the Maeander, and found occasion to honour a fabulous tamarisk-tree at Callatebus (VII.31).

I. COMMUNICATIONS

The fame of the Persian road system is based on efficient improvements of an existing network of natural communications. In Anatolia, roads had begun to develop in the aceramic period of obsidian trade, and were taken over by the rulers of the copper and bronze era, with special attention to the routes that served the Old Assyrian trade in the twentieth to eighteenth centuries B.C. Tablets from Kanesh-Kültepe give evidence of the controlled caravan system that depended on security of the roads and political agreements with the rulers of the areas traversed.³ The Hittites inherited the road system of the 'Cappadocian' trading period and expanded it to the districts of their kingdom and empire. Movements of Hittite armies and messengers were efficient and controlled; messengers were housed and supplied with sustenance by the communities *en route*.⁴

When the Phrygians under Midas began to rebuild a central Anatolian kingdom extending to the former Hittite capital and the cult-city at Alaca Hüyük, they used the northern road on the plateau via Ancyra; their connexions with the southern road were made at Celaenae, Iconium-Konya and Tyana. The Lydians under Alyattes moved their army to the Halys and to Pteria (former Hattusha) along the northern, Gordium road. Cyrus took this road westward and followed in the footsteps of the retreating Lydian army all the way to Sardis in 547 B.C. The Phrygian and Lydian control system must have been underdeveloped compared to what the Persians established, but the major roads had a long history and prehistory, and were increasingly used for the movement of troops by the Hittites, Phrygians and Lydians.

The fame of the royal road (Hdt. v. 50-3) is its systematic provision of caravanserais and post stations for official messengers and travellers.⁵ It served the efficient movement of armies as well as the special messenger service with relays of horses and riders (Hdt. VIII.98). Its exact course is a matter of continuing topographical research. The sections of a northern road excavated at Gordium and identified at other Phrygian sites, such as Pessinus to the west and Yenidoğan to the east *en route* to Ancyra belong to the Roman period in their final form, but may be technical successors of the Persian royal road, as stratification of road-beds suggest.⁶

³ B 303, 5.

⁴ B 706, 9.

⁵ B 44, 108-9.

⁶ B 749; B 741-2.

For an analysis of the regional impact of Persian rule, taxation and requisition of military contingents in the era of Darius and Xerxes we must consult the general archaeological record, which can take us beyond the horizon of Herodotus. Even if the garrison-system, the administrative centres and the satrapal palaces have not yet been identified and excavated, we can explore the Anatolian inland regions and the old sites along the roads, as well as the Anatolian coastal peoples with their stubborn heritage to examine traces of Persian action and interaction.

II. SARDIS AND LYDIA

Sardis is the key site for Western Anatolia and now proving to be the most promising to yield archaeological evidence of Persian rule and organization (Fig. 11). Current excavations have brought to light the material record of Cyrus' conquest of the lower city, which was fortified with a massive mud-brick rampart.⁷ After the breaching of this wall with the aid of a siege-mound at the north-west side of the lower city, and the sealing-in of Lydian ceramic inventory of 547/6 B.C., the fortification was repaired with a stone wall set on top of the mud-brick stump. This repair has not yet been dated precisely but is likely to be early Persian.

The attack on Sardis by the Ionians in 499 did not find the lower city unfortified in spite of Herodotus v. 100–2. Artaphernes remained safe in the acropolis with a large force. Herodotus' term 'acropolis' may have included the large terraces discovered in the lower city from 1982 on, built of rubble with ashlar masonry facing of over 12 m in height. Their construction may date to Croesus, but they certainly existed in early Persian times. The lower city with its monumental terraces extended at least 800 m east of the Pactolus river and north of the modern highway.⁸

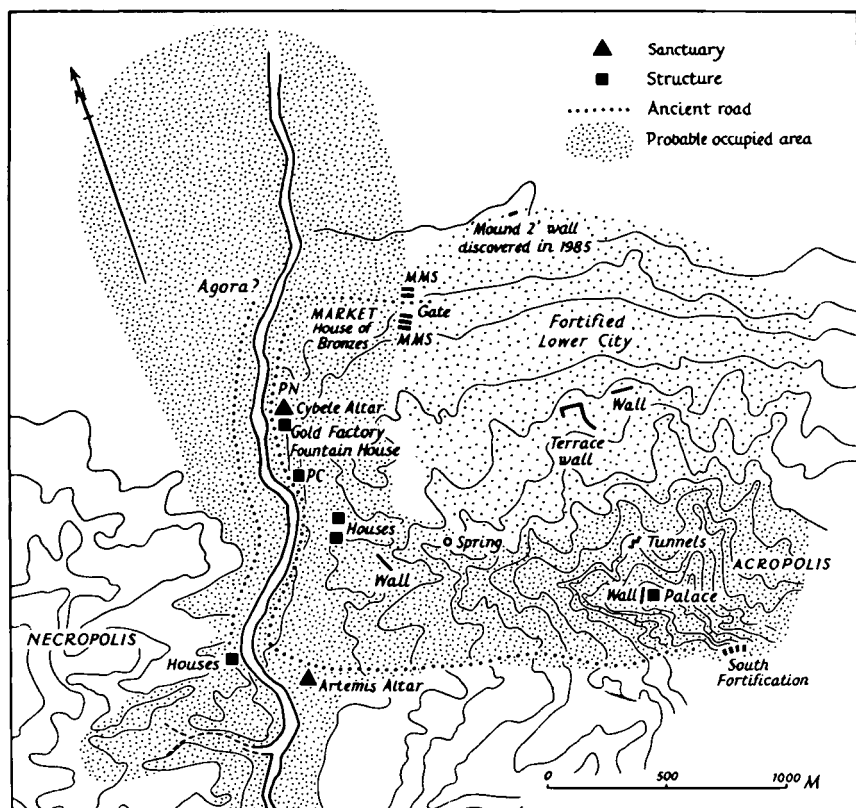
In 499, Herodotus reports, the burning of reed huts and mud-brick houses with thatched roofs forced the inhabitants to flee to the agora area near the Pactolus and also affected the temple of Cybele. The Cybele shrine probably stood outside the fortified city, as shrines of Phrygian Cybele did. The excavators of Sardis have tentatively identified burnt strata of 499 B.C. in built-up areas along the east side of the Pactolus and in less densely occupied territory west of the river, both zones most likely to have been outside of the lower city fortifications.⁹

In the cemetery area to the west of the Pactolus, many chamber-tombs were excavated in 1910–14; they show continuity from the Lydian to the Persian period, with tomb gifts including Attic and Corinthian pottery, alabaster, jewellery and stamp-seals. A chamber-tomb with tall limestone

⁷ B 709; B 734, 12–14.

⁸ B 708.

⁹ B 714, 101.



11. Sardis in the Lydo-Persian period. (After B 714, plan 1.)

stelae in front, crowned by palmette anthemia, had one burial dated to 500–480 B.C.; a cylinder-seal of onyx, mounted in gold, is Achaemenid of late Darius date.¹⁰ Pyramidal seals of the Achaemenid period still carry Lydian inscriptions, and there is evidence for an active production of stamp-seals of this shape at Sardis, starting in the Persian era (Pls. Vol., pl. 76).¹¹ Gold jewellery of Achaemenid design is also found in the tombs.

Evidently the burial customs of the Lydians at Sardis did not change under Persian rule. For Bintepe, the tumulus cemetery north of the Hermus river, we have no specific proof of finds after 546 B.C., but tumuli may have continued to be erected over the graves of prominent Sardians in the later sixth and early fifth centuries B.C.

The Persian imprint on the city of Sardis is the less noticeable because

¹⁰ B 715, 25, no. 47, n. 109; B 700, 39f, no. 104.

¹¹ B 694.

the Lydians were among the instructors and craftsmen of Achaemenid architects. The upper acropolis at Sardis has preserved some of the terrace walls of its monumental buildings, built and finished in what we understand increasingly well as the Lydian style. We do not have the satrapal inventory, furnishings, carpets, archives and treasury; even so, we know that under the rule of Darius Lydians continued to be respected advisers and a source of expert craftsmen as they had been in the era of Cyrus. The foundation tablets of Darius' palaces at Susa record the work of stone-cutters and wood-carvers from Sardis, confirming in writing what a technical examination of the buildings at Pasargadae revealed as Lydian workmanship under the auspices of Cyrus.¹²

Economically, in the issue of coinage, Darius followed the lead of Croesus, and continued minting croesids for some time, but gold darics as well as silver sigloi were minted at Sardis before 500 B.C. The early types show the king half-length with bow or shooting with the bow. Both of the early types of sigloi were represented in a hoard from Bayraklı—Old Smyrna dated to c. 500 B.C.¹³

The cultural and spiritual impact of the Persian presence may gradually have increased through the presence of Persian holders of royal land-grants in fifth-century Lydia, but most of the pertinent evidence here and elsewhere post-dates Darius and Xerxes. The same is true for the introduction of Persian cults. Documents of a cult of a Persian 'Zeus Baradates' at Sardis, of Anahita at Hypaipa and Hieracome refer to the fourth century, typical though they may be of earlier, gradual penetration by privileged Persian settlers in regional concentration, and through them, the introduction of Iranian religious practices and concepts into Lydia.¹⁴ Herodotus v. 102 reports that a rescue force came to Sardis in 499 organized by Persians who had districts west of the Halys. These must be the generals Daurises, Hymaios and Otanes, also referred to in v. 116, rather than fief-holders. They caught up with the Ionians in Ephesus and defeated them thoroughly. Survivors of the battle were pursued by the generals.

Among the Persians in Sardis there were apparently elements conspiring with Histiaeus. These traitors were caught and punished by Artaphernes (Hdt. vi.4).

III. DASCYLIIUM, GRECO-PERSIAN MONUMENTS

The second known satrapal capital, Dascylium, has now with confidence been identified with the site of Hisartepe on the south-east shore of Lake Manyas, Daskylitis limne, near the village of Ergili.¹⁵ Excavations took

¹² B 110, D S f; B 207, 53-9 (D S 2). ¹³ C 621, 31-3; B 15, 616.

¹⁴ B 713, 33; B 736; B 735, 150. ¹⁵ B 678; B 679, 171, fig. 115.



12. Bullae from Dascylium. (After B 679, figs. 122, 123; B 678, pl. 12.2.)

place from 1954 to 1959; the upper, Hellenistic levels contained walls with many spolia, including architectural blocks from what must have been the satrapal palace. From a level below the Hellenistic structures came a hoard of about 300 bullae with stamp- and cylinder-seal impressions.¹⁶ About 30 of these have cuneiform legends in Old Persian, about 10 have Aramaic legends, and on one is a fragmentary Greek legend. The cuneiform legends point to Xerxes; one of his cylinder-seal impressions shows the 'royal hero' grasping a lion-griffin by the horn; the hero holds a dagger in his right hand; behind him is a palm tree (Fig. 12*a*). Another has an antithetical group of royal sphinxes below a winged disk. On the stamp-seals the familiar scene of the royal hero and the lion-griffin reappears, the hero either grasping the monster or stabbing it with his dagger. Other bullae show a Persian figure in trousers, cloak and headgear, holding staff and rods (Fig. 12*b*), and an impression from a Greek seal shows Greeks fighting (Fig. 12*c*). The range of dates of this hoard of bullae has not yet been determined; so far the seals do not seem to be matched on impressions found in Persepolis.

It is evident that an administrative part of the satrapal residence was located here. The site is of the appropriate scenic attraction for the Persian palace and garden known from the later reference in Xen. *Hell.*

¹⁶ B 686; B 679, fig. 122; B 692, 52-3.

IV.1.15–16. It deserves detailed excavation of the residential area and cemeteries. Much fifth-century material has come to light through chance discoveries, most of it belonging to funeral monuments.

Tomb stelae of typical 'Greco-Persian' style were found reused in a Byzantine tomb in 1965.¹⁷ The Aramaic inscription on one stela¹⁸ identifies the tomb owner as ³Elnāp son of ³šy. If the inscription is primary, the ³Elnāp stela shows that foreign (Aramaic-Arab?) members of the Dascylium administration followed the same burial customs and iconography for their monuments as the local officials. ³Elnāp's reliefs show typical funerary rites known from other stelae; the traditional repertoire of funerary procession and banquet may be expanded by a hunting-scene, as on a newly found stela from Sultaniye east of Manyas Lake.¹⁹

The art to which these stelae belong develops in the western satrapies. It is technically dependent on paint, since the relief is often flat and lacks detail. It shows funerary rites of Anatolian type, preparatory to burial of the body in a chamber-tomb or tumulus. Stelae and some of the relief slabs with anathyrosis found at Ergili must have been set up in front of the tombs. The iconography emphasizes the status of the tomb-owner and often his horsemanship. Some of the attendants on the Dascylium stelae wear Persian costume (see Pls. Vol., pl. 82), but not the tomb-owner, nor the servants at the banquet. One of the reliefs from Dascylium illustrates a Persian rite performed by two men in Persian attire in front of a structure which may be a tomb (Pls. Vol., pl. 45).²⁰

Such reliefs must have belonged to the tombs of prominent individuals, whose life-style was gradually Persianized in the fifth-century satrapal capital. The tumulus burial proper continued in Anatolian fashion. The art of this stratum of Persianizing officials, also represented in wall-paintings from northern Lycia and ruined tomb-chambers of tumuli in the greater Lydian area, develops its own iconography with mannerisms in the rendering of horses and chariots which are equally apparent in Achaemenid art at Persepolis. The syncretism of Greek, West Anatolian and Persian art is noticeable from Thrace to inner Lycia.

The precious contents of the tombs to which the Greco-Persian sculptures belonged are not known for Dascylium, and were looted in Sardis. A looted tomb near Kırkağaç in the upper Caicus valley once had a painted klinē with sphinxes, and wall-paintings with a chariot procession.²¹

Tumuli in the upper Hermus valley, at İkiztepe near Güre, 20 km west

¹⁷ B 681; B 695; C 551, nos. 3–4; C 521, 265–88.

¹⁸ B 698. ¹⁹ B 739.

²⁰ B 695, 201–3, pl. 57; C 545, no. 1357.

²¹ B 719, 81, n. 15; and personal communication from C. H. Greenewalt.

of Uşak, were looted, and their remaining contents salvaged in the 1960s. In one tumulus a double limestone tomb-chamber was plundered; it had two marble klinai. Among the confiscated loot were about 30 silver vessels, oinochoai, plain bowls, omphalos bowls, dishes, ladles and fluted small jars; there also were many alabastra and clay lydia. One silver omphalos bowl has a repoussé design of antithetical bull-protomes set above a winged disk supported by a palmette. A silver incense-burner is similar to those known from Persepolis reliefs. Another incense-burner was made of iron. In the dromos a siglos of Darius was found. Some of the inventory of these and other Güre tomb-chambers is now in New York. Several pieces have Lydian or Phrygian graffiti on the base.²²

These tumuli are in Lydian-Phrygian territory, and must have belonged to wealthy land-owners under the spell of Persian manners. A tumulus set on a hill at Çeçtepe, c. 20 km north west of Celaenae-Dinar, had a relief cut in a ledge of the rock, showing two horsemen and a chariot in procession.²³ This relief is again Greco-Persian and shows the variety of exterior commemorative monuments associated with early fifth-century tumulus burials in Lydian-Phrygian districts.

The most explicit iconography in this Persianized manner is preserved in the wall-paintings of the chamber in the Karaburun I tumulus near Elmalı in northern Lycia, the Milyad perhaps at this stage of geographic definition. A commemorative monument stood on a base on the outer slope, and the architecture betrays Phrygian affinities.

The paintings are typically Greco-Persian in the banquet scene, on the main wall and in the chariot procession (see Fig. 41 below, p. 479) on one of the lateral walls, but offer much more detail, variety and colour than the abbreviated Dascylium stelae. The precious metal vessels painted in the drinking scene of the tomb must have had their counterparts in tomb offerings set on the floor and table of the chamber, anciently looted. The appearance of a battle scene on the third wall emphasizes the new role of the local nobleman as an ally in the Persian army. He appears on horseback spearing a Greek hoplite whose comrades and auxiliary archers are being dispatched by local soldiers not quite from Herodotus' catalogue, wearing short tunics, puttees and shoes, equipped with daggers and fighting with short spears. The date of the paintings (c. 475 B.C.?) is hardly as late as the battles against Cimon's forces in Lycia and Pamphylia, but the local grandee may have aided the Persians in other territory against the Ionians and their allies.²⁴

As in Lydia and presumably in Dascylium, the actual burial customs are not Persianized, but at Karaburun the servants in the chariot procession and those in the banquet scene appear in Persian costume. The nobleman himself wears a purple Persian tunic, trousers, kandys and

²² B 743, 391-7; B 745.

²³ B 703; B 697.

²⁴ B 723.

bashlyk as he rides in his chariot. On horseback he appears in the purple tunic and trousers and red Persian shoes. His black horse is also rendered in the Persian manner and wears a red ribbon in the topknot. For the banquet the tomb-owner is attired in semi-Greek costume (see Pls. Vol., pl. 81). His chiton has rosette borders; his green cloak is purple- and silver-edged; his diadem is made of chequered cloth and beads; his jewellery, gold ear-rings and lion-head bracelets, is of good Achaemenid type. His wife, the only woman rendered in the friezes, looks entirely Greek.

What these tomb-paintings and sculptures show is an external adoption of Persian fashions and mannerisms by the wealthy Anatolians of Lydia, Dascylium, Phrygia and the Milyad. In most instances, leaving aside monuments with Aramaic inscriptions, we are not looking at tombs of Persian officials resident in Anatolia, but at those of regional noblemen who collaborated with the Persian regime and compromised with Persian fashions, although their art continued to have strong ties with Greece. A *koine* of manners develops among the privileged classes of the west Anatolian plateau. The artistic expression of their world was achieved with the aid of Ionian and Lydian artists (and some Attic help at Karaburun), who trained apprentices in local workshops. On a much higher level, and under royal auspices, the artistic compromise between the Ionian-Lydian and Persian-Elamite tradition was being brought about at Persepolis.

IV. THE SOUTH COAST: CARIA, LYCIA, PAMPHYLIA

1. *Caria*

The districts along the south coast of Anatolia, from Caria to Pamphylia, with their orientation to the Mediterranean and their Bronze Age heritage, did not change radically under Persian rule, any more than they had been culturally dominated by Hittites, Phrygians and Lydians. The Carians continued their maritime activities. Carian ships and sailors provided services to Darius and Xerxes in the Aegean, the east Mediterranean and the Near East. Carians (Karkā) and Ionians ferried Lebanese timber from Babylon to Susa for the palace of Darius.²⁵ Scylax of Caryanda was entrusted by Darius with the exploration of the Indus downstream and the passage westward to Egypt (Hdt. iv.44).²⁶ Carians were involved in the Naxian expedition of Aristagoras in 500 (Hdt. v.37) and contributed 70 ships to Xerxes.

Artemisia, the Carian-Cretan daughter of Lygdamis of the Halicarnassian dynasty, played her conspicuous role at Salamis.

²⁵ B 110, D S f and z. ²⁶ B 44, 14, 61-2.

The Carian aristocracy continued to rule various towns and districts and formed a loose alliance in times of need, such as on the occasion of the invasion of Caria by Daurises, Darius' son-in-law, during the Ionian Revolt. The meeting of the chieftains at the White Pillars and the River Marsyas was known to Herodotus (v.118) who singles out Pixodarus, son of Mausollus and son-in-law of the Cilician king Syennesis, for praise (v.118). After an initial defeat, further deliberation took place in the sanctuary and sacred grove at Labraunda. The Persians, victorious at Mylasa, were later ambushed and defeated at Pedasa-Pedasus by the Carians under Heraclides, son of Ibanollis of Mylasa.

This Carian kind of confederacy and dynastic leadership still has a Bronze Age flavour, and some of the Greek component in Caria may be of the same tradition.

We hear of other aristocrats under Xerxes' rule, such as the admirals of the Carian fleet, among them Pigres son of Hysseldomus, perhaps of the Syangela dynasty,²⁷ and Aridolis of Alabanda, captured by the Greeks (Hdt. vii.98 and 195). A Halicarnassian by the name of Xeinagoras was appointed to the governorship of Cilicia by Xerxes after 480 (Hdt. ix.107) perhaps in view of Carian-Cilician ties among Halicarnassian nobility.

The effect of the subjugation of Caria after the fall of Miletus is noticeable in the appearance of Karka in the lists of subject lands at Naqsh-e Rostam. Carian workers are listed in the Persepolis Treasury and Fortification Tablets.²⁸ At Halicarnassus, the ruling family continued in charge and probably owned the alabaster vessel with cuneiform and Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions of Xerxes, the Great King, found under the Mausoleum.²⁹

2. *Lycia*

The political structure of Lycia under Darius and the early rule of Xerxes must still have been dominated by the Xanthian dynasty, nominally under Persian authority. The kings of the other Lycian towns were linguistically and traditionally close enough to maintain an informal alliance. Xanthus probably was the administrative intermediary for Persian rule, but we have hardly any reference to the mechanism of Lycian-Persian contacts. Kybernis, who was the Lycian admiral (Hdt. vii.98), remains a puzzle as to his ancestry.

Xanthus, which had borne the brunt of the attack of Harpagus, has some good archaeological evidence from excavations of the acropolis. After the destruction, the citadel was rebuilt in local style. Both

²⁷ B 687, 128.

²⁸ B 34, 142, PT 37; B 82, PF 123, 1123.

²⁹ B 110, X V s.



13. Silver coin of Kuprilli. (After c 625, fig. 649.)

residential and sacral buildings have been excavated for the period of c. 530 to 470 B.C., when another destructive attack is evident from the archaeological record, presumably to be connected with the campaign of Cimon against Persian garrisons.³⁰ The levels underlying the destruction can be dated by an abundance of Attic black-figure and red-figure pottery which continues to be imported.

Lycian monumental tombs of pillar type are erected without reference to the Persian overlords. The Harpy monument, probably built in the decades 500–480 B.C., has Lycian overtones in its symbolism of winged figures, although in style and execution it is indebted to Ionian (Milesian?) artists.³¹ The typical Greco-Persian manner of Dascylium and the Lydian interior is not to be seen in Xanthus, although it came close in the Karaburun tomb near Elmalı by 475.

Lycian silver coinage of uncertain rulers dates back to 500 or even earlier. The coinage of Kuprilli may have started as early as 485 B.C.³² These coins were struck at Xanthus and Limyra, and perhaps elsewhere; the iconography is Lycian and Greek (Fig. 13). Persian traits appear on few of these coins, and may have been introduced by Greek rather than Lycian artists. This is plausible in view of the non-Persian character of Xanthian architecture and sculpture c. 500–480.

3. *Pamphylia*

This was a district with a different ethnic and linguistic composition, having absorbed a large number of Achaean–Argive refugees in the Dark Ages, but maintaining a linguistic stratification of Luwian (?), Achaean and Doric elements.³³ We know little about the Persian rule of Pamphylia, which lasted until 469 B.C. The Pamphylians had to pay their share of the assessment of the first Herodotean satrapy, along with the Carians, Lycians and Milyans.

The principal cities are Aspendus and Perge, accessible via the Eurymedon and Cestrus rivers. Aspendus, the leading city, appears as

³⁰ B 725, 80–2; B 726, 195.

³¹ B 699, 39–45.

³² B 727; C 636; C 645.

³³ B 696, 145–50, 194–7.

ΕΣΤFE on its early fifth-century coinage, which may not have started until after Cimon's campaign. The name of the city may be linked to Asitawata who founded Karatepe in Cilicia. Neither Aspendus nor Perge has been archaeologically investigated for the classical or pre-classical period, although Perge is now being excavated extensively. The status of the Pamphylian cities in pre-Persian and Persian times is still to be examined. Herodotus, who knows of the post-Trojan diaspora of the Achaeans under Amphilochoi and Calchas, reports a contingent of 30 ships for Xerxes (VII.91). The native traditions and the legends of the Achaean settlers survived into the Hellenistic and Roman periods, as is attested by the dedications to the founders (*ktistai*) Mopsus and Calchas at Perge as late as A.D. 120.

The town of Side at the mouth of the Melas river was on the border of Cilicia Tracheia. It had a small harbour of some importance. This town maintained its own language and script into the Hellenistic period, clearly proud of its un-Greek past. Its coinage started early in the fifth century. As at Perge, the earlier strata are thoroughly covered by the spectacular remains of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

V. CILICIA

The neighbours of Pamphylia were the inhabitants of the mountainous stretch of Cilicia. In 557/6, the Neo-Babylonian king Neriglissar had campaigned in Cilicia–Hume against Appuashu, king of Pirindu.³⁴ The pursuit went into mountainous territory as far as Ura (this Bronze Age harbour city may be at the mouth of the Calycadnus), Kirshi and Pitusu, which were captured and destroyed. This brought Neriglissar to the border of Lydia, as his chronicle states, i.e. the Pamphylian plain, which then formally belonged to Croesus' domain (Hdt. I.28). A year later, Nabonidus also campaigned in Hume.³⁵

The key zone of Cilicia was the coastal plain which had been active in east Mediterranean and Levantine trade through its cities with harbours on the rivers Cydnus (Tarsus), Sarus–Seyhan (Adana) and Pyramus–Ceyhan (Mallus, Mopsouhestia) and overland routes through the Taurus passes to the North and Amanus Gates to Syria. Like the Lycians, the Cilicians tended to maintain their independence, but had to conform to major powers whose economic interests needed their co-operation: Hittites, Assyrians and Neo-Babylonians. The Phrygians tried in vain to penetrate the Assyrian-held territory of Cilicia, and the Lydians never controlled it. (Hdt. I.28).

A local dynasty seems to have survived the tribulations of foreign garrisons and campaigns. The kings are named or titled Syennesis; the

³⁴ B 359, 74–7, 86–8; B 274, 103–4; B 718, 17–44.1 ³⁵ B 274 Chron. 7.7.

first known Syennesis helps to reconcile Alyattes and Cyaxares in 585 (Hdt. I.74); we hear of a daughter of a Syennesis as the bride of the Carian prince Pixodarus, son of Mausollus in c. 494 (Hdt. v.118), and (the same?) Syennesis, son of Oromedon, is the commander of the 100-ship contingent for Xerxes (Hdt. VII.98); Aeschylus reports his death at Salamis (*Pers.* 326–8).

We are not sure where the Syennesis dynasty resided. Appuashu seems to be based in western Cilicia. Tarsus would have had the historical prestige for a centre of the kingdom, but there seems to be a gap in the excavated part of the principal mound after 520 B.C.³⁶ Appuashu may have been a 'Syennesis'. A citadel in the Calycadnus valley, at Gülnar-Meydancık, has tantalizing references to the Achaemenid period in the presence of a relief with a procession of Persian dignitaries as well as fragmentary statues flanking the entrance of a gabled built tomb of the fifth century B.C. An Aramaic inscription identifies this citadel as Kirshui.³⁷

Cilicia's importance to the Persian kings is evident in its separate status as Herodotus' fourth satrapy. Darius uses coastal Cilicia as his base for the attack on Cyprus in 497/6 (Hdt. v.108). At the battle of Lade Cilician ships were among the Persian contingents (Hdt. VI.6). In 492 Mardonius assembled his fleet off the Cilician coast (VI.43) and moved his army overland from Cilicia to the west, probably via the Calycadnus road. Darius, after the failures at Athos and in Thrace, had his new commanders assemble their forces in the Aleian Plain between the Sarus and Pyramus rivers to prepare for embarkation on the fleet and troop transports to carry them from the Cilician coast (at Mallus?) to Ionia (VI.95). The modern coastline has changed considerably since prehistoric and classical times, but the estuary of the Pyramus-Ceyhan was clearly of strategic and economic importance through early history. The crucial position of Cilicia as a safe entry area and naval base for the Persians is evident, as is the compliance of the Cilician kings, who provided 100 ships to Xerxes.

The Cilician plain had long been a wealthy area of farmers, traders and manufacturers. The tribute noted by Herodotus in his list of nations III.90 consists of 360 white horses, one for each day, and 500 silver talents, 140 of which went for the cavalry guard. The white horses, on which Herodotus has no further comment, must have been destined for ceremonial service, such as pulling the chariot of Ahura Mazda (Hdt. VII.40). The territory of the satrapy extended across the Taurus mountains to the north and north east in the direction of Commagene. Epigraphic discoveries and archaeology will have to expand our horizon.

³⁶ B 707, 145.

³⁷ B 721 and personal communication from A. Davesne.

VI. PHRYGIA

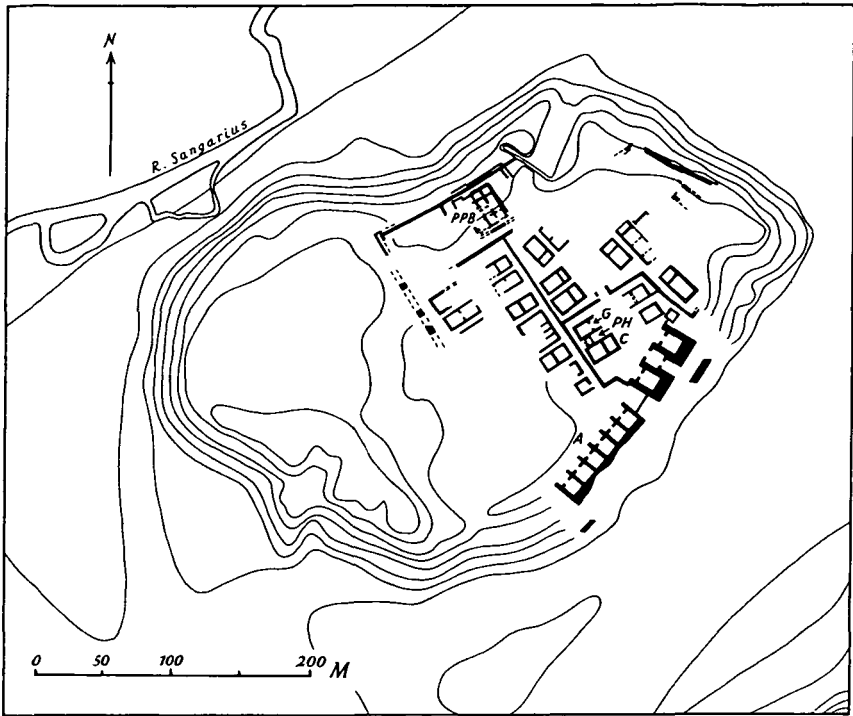
The pattern of Persian domination in the heartland of Phrygia, part of the satrapy of Dascylium, can now be reconstructed tentatively from the excavations of the citadel and tombs of Gordium. As noted in *CAH* III².2, ch. 34a (Pls. Vol., pl. 226) the citadel was in process of rebuilding when captured by the Cimmerians in c. 696 B.C. After the looting and conflagration of the occupied part of the citadel and after battles in which Midas may have been killed, a mud-brick rampart was built around the east and south side of the citadel, protecting a large residential suburb. This rampart and its superstructures were attacked and burnt during Cyrus' march to Sardis in 547/6 B.C., probably with the aid of a siege-mound, as at Sardis. After the Persian victory most of the 12 m high wall at Gordium was razed, leaving one monument as a tumulus to the south east. By c. 600 B.C. the old citadel had been rebuilt.

The Persians took over this archaic Phrygian citadel, leaving little architectural imprint of their own, since the citadel built under Lydian auspices had borrowed its layout from the Old Phrygian predecessor, with minor modifications but improved masonry (Fig. 14). As before, the citadel buildings were *megara*, grouped in separate courts. The East gateway was now entered at right angles between symmetrical towers. To its south west, the original plan called for a solid rampart, but the design was changed to incorporate a large stoa-like storage building (building A) set on a terrace which doubled as the core of the outer rampart. Building A was destroyed by fire, and over its south part a different type of structure was erected, this time of non-Phrygian plan, with a paved court to the north, giving access to a porch with two columns in *antis*, the red-painted base of one remaining in situ.³⁸ Behind the porch was a narrower room with a place for a throne or ceremonial base against the centre of its rear wall. Both porch and throne-room had a simple mosaic of maeanders in regular rows of pebbles; the base was set off by dark glassy pebbles. This building may have been the official mansion of the Persian representative at Gordium.

There was little preserved inventory. Colourful terracotta revetments and *sima* fragments lay in the debris.³⁹ In the robbed foundation trench was found a carnelian cylinder-seal of fine Achaemenid style and composition: a symmetrical group of royal heroes set on bearded royal sphinxes, facing an Ahura Mazda above an altar and roundel; the frieze is bordered by a lotus-band above and below, and an Aramaic inscription gives the name of the owner Badag, son of Zatchi (?). The seal is dated to the early fifth century.⁴⁰

³⁸ B 746, 11-12; B 751, 6, plan. ³⁹ B 676, 143-61.

⁴⁰ B 746, 15, fig. 10; personal communication from E. Porada.



14. Map of Gordium in the archaic period. Courtesy of Gordion Excavations. See the text. The new gateway is at the right. Building PH ('Painted House') between megara G and C had its main room walls covered with painted friezes on white plaster.

This mosaic building is continued by similar structures to the south, and may be part of a small palace. The date is not securely established. The excavator suggested 475–450, but the terracottas have earlier parallels in Sardis. The sequence of Persian actions against and in the main citadel needs further study. The burning of building A may be connected with the entry of the Persians, and the Persian mosaic building may have been constructed before 500.

Many *megara* in the citadel of Gordium stood in their Phrygian form through the era of Darius and Xerxes. A chronological marker is the small 'heroon' inserted between *megara* C (already rebuilt once) and G not later than 530 B.C., as is attested by its archaic wall-paintings.⁴¹ These paintings, of strong East Greek affinity, hardly betray Persianizing fashions or Greco-Persian traits. In the minor arts and artefacts from Gordium the Persian presence is barely noticeable, with the exception of

⁴¹ B 724, 91–8.

a number of seals and rare occurrences of silver tableware and pottery imitations.⁴² The Greek contact is steady, as evidenced by East Greek and Attic pottery imports before and after 500 B.C.⁴³ Tumuli continue to be made for prominent cremation burials until early in the fifth century B.C., following Lydo-Phrygian burial patterns.⁴⁴

One hoard of 110 sigloi was found in the Persian level at Gordium, buried in a fragmentary local lekythos.⁴⁵ This has not yet been studied. The sigloi show considerable wear but seem to be of the same type. A fragmentary bulla from a mid-fifth-century context shows a hunter on horseback pursuing a deer; the style is not Achaemenid.

The overall impression of this era of Persian rule at Gordium is one of benevolent control of a citadel and community consisting largely of Phrygian and Lydo-Phrygian residents continuing their original lifestyles but becoming somewhat wealthier in material effects such as gold jewellery, and in amenities such as wall-paintings of East Greek affinity, paying taxes now to a Persian official residing in the citadel whose communications went east and west along the royal road. The road itself must be embedded in the stratification of the stretches of its Roman successor excavated among the Phrygian tumuli and heading toward the citadel from the plain. The road in all periods of Gordium's existence must have crossed the Sangarius river by a bridge.

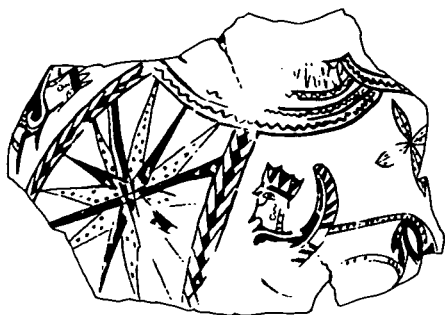
In greater Phrygia, within the Halys bend, there is less archaeological evidence of Achaemenid occupation. At the former Hittite capital, now probably Pteria, a burial in the crevices of Yazılıkaya was accompanied by a provincial Achaemenid cylinder-seal carved of bone.⁴⁶ It shows that the image of the royal hero was known in these regions. On the pottery of the later Phrygian period at Boğazköy, as well as at Alaca Hüyük, painters of bichrome ware illustrate variants of Achaemenid sphinxes with crowns. Similar iconographic allusions are noticeable at Alişar (Fig. 15),⁴⁷ Kültepe, and most strikingly at Maşat Hüyük, 20 km south west of Zela-Zile,⁴⁸ where the wild bichrome style was vigorous; on the other hand, a very fine version of Achaemenid bichrome painting appears on a white-slipped bowl, with the representation of a horse of thoroughly Persian appearance, with topknot and ribbons, bridle and head shape as at Persepolis, as part of a procession (Fig. 16). This was found in a late-sixth-century context, and must be related to the best workshops of this period close to official Achaemenid centres. The proximity to Zile, a famous cult centre of Anaitis, may be relevant, although the date of introduction of this cult is unclear. The horses on the white-ground cup

⁴² B 748, 154, pl. 41, figs. 1 a, b; B 750, 281, pl. 84, figs. 8-9. ⁴³ B 737; B 53.

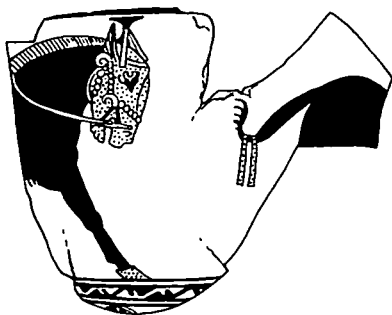
⁴⁴ B 720, 65-89. ⁴⁵ B 747, 141. ⁴⁶ B 691, 234, fig. 146.

⁴⁷ B 738, 43-5, fig. 46, a 824; B 677, 54, pl. 32b.

⁴⁸ B 732, 123, colour pl. F-I, pl. 64, 1 a-b; pl. 78, 3 a-b, fig. 162.



15. Bichrome vase fragment from Alişar. (After B 677, pl. 32b.)



16. Bichrome vase fragment from Maşat Hüyük. (After B 732, pl. 64.1.)

found at Maşat resemble the royal horses rendered on the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis, although details such as the ornamented headstall and the knotted tails are less refined at Maşat. The Maşat horses have already entered Persian service somewhere in the district of Maşat and Zile.⁴⁹ We are looking at a provincial counterpart in minor art of the official iconography of Persepolis.

VII. PONTUS, CAPPADOCIA, COMMAGENE, ARMENIA

The Persian penetration of the Pontic zone and Cappadocia is reflected on the popular level in bichrome pottery decoration, mixed, as always, with Greek inspiration. A Pontic blend of Greek and Persian art decorated façades of rock-cut tombs in Paphlagonia in the later fifth and fourth centuries B.C.⁵⁰ A curious mixture of tribal tradition and hybrid cultural overlay (Hittite, Phrygian, East Greek, Persian) developed in the Pontic zone. The presence of rich local chieftains is indicated by the occasional finds of Achaemenid silver ware along the coast, probably originating from plundered tombs near Ünye and elsewhere.⁵¹

In Cappadocia, where the satrapal residence may have been at Mazaca (later Caesarea), Persian land grants may have had some influence on regional culture. The altar from Bünyän, some 35 km to the north east, with the figure of a Persian performing the fire-cult rite carved in relief on all four sides (see Pls. Vol., pl. 43), is a document of Persian religious rites practised in the later fifth century B.C.⁵² The red paint on the background of the reliefs is typical of Greco-Persian sculpture.

Further East, in Armenia and what used to be Urartu, we approach a land with a closer relationship to Iran and the Achaemenids. Darius and

⁴⁹ B 214, 104-6, pls. 83-5; A 36, 148-9. ⁵⁰ B 705, 13-56.

⁵¹ B 680, 218, fig. 67; B 682; B 683, 38-52; C 481, 260-70, nos. 175-81; B 728.

⁵² B 688; B 679, 173, fig. 120.

Xerxes built on the citadel at Van, where Xerxes left a trilingual inscription (XV). Building remains of the Achaemenid period have been identified at Erebuni–Arin Berd in Soviet Armenia, but the apadana in western Urartu at Altintepe near Erzincan seems to be of the late Urartian period.⁵³ Persian silver ware was allegedly found at Erzincan.⁵⁴ Some of the pottery at Patnos north of Lake Van may be of Achaemenid date, and there is no doubt that the Persians reoccupied several of the Urartian citadels.

The Euphrates region and Commagene in East Anatolia are also likely to have been readily put under Achaemenid control. In the recent rescue excavations along the Turkish Euphrates the mound of Lidar on the east bank, *c.* 8 km upstream from Samosata, has yielded Achaemenid fifth-century building levels. A mud-brick tomb-chamber contained a burial in a bronze tub; among the tomb gifts was a bronze openwork attachment with the figure of a man in Persian costume.⁵⁵ Lidar was fortified in the sixth and fifth centuries. At Tille, west of the modern river crossing of the Adıyaman–Diyarbakır road, the entire surface of the small mound was occupied by a well-planned probably Achaemenid complex.⁵⁶ The Achaemenid period was also represented in building levels on the large citadel of Samsat–Samosata under the palace of the Commagenian dynasty.⁵⁷

To the south, in cemetery II at Deve Hüyük west of Carchemish, soldiers of an Achaemenid garrison were buried with characteristic weapons (see *Pls. Vol.*, pls. 68, 74); the earliest graves date to *c.* 480 B.C.⁵⁸

Along the Euphrates the presence of Achaemenid rule is noticeable protecting the river crossings and the water way. The royal road crossed the Euphrates somewhere between Samsat and the Malatya region. Herodotus refers in general terms to the stretch through Cappadocia to the borders of (greater) Cilicia with two passes and control stations, from where three stations and fifteen and a half parasangs take the traveller to the boat-crossing of the Euphrates, and the border of Armenia (v.52). The crossing at Samosata–Kummuh was clearly of age-old importance and part of the rationale for the long prehistoric and historical development of the city. Several other crossings were functioning along the Euphrates from Carchemish to Malatya.

In this area, as in the districts of central and western Anatolia, we may under-estimate the administrative and cultural impact of early Persian rule. Historical evidence for the period of Darius and Xerxes, with its vigorous technical and military projects, will be forthcoming from systematic excavations of sites of the rank of Sardis and Dascylium. Many of the other important sites show much less of the Persian impact

⁵³ B 731, 44–6.⁵⁴ B 497, 140.⁵⁵ B 716.⁵⁶ B 704.⁵⁷ B 730.⁵⁸ B 497.

(Gordium, Xanthus, Pteria) because they were perhaps garrisoned but initially left to their own traditions. The diffusion of a Greco-Persian artistic idiom and iconography is for the time being best known through the category of funeral monuments, which begin to show the intrusion of Persian rituals in what largely are traditional Anatolian burial practices. This process continues in various forms in later ages, with a climax in the gigantic tumulus complex of Antiochus I of Commagene.

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Abbreviations

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AASOR Annals of the American Schools of Oriental Research
 ABAW Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
ABC Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles, A. K. Grayson. Locust Valley, 1975
 Abh. d. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
 Abh. Mainz Geistes-soz. Kl. Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz
ABL Assyrian and Babylonian Letters, R. F. Harper, London-Chicago, 1892-1914
 Acta Inst. Ath. R. S. Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae = Skrifter utg. av Svenska Institut i Athen
Acta Ir. Acta Iranica
Act. Ant. Hung. Acta antiqua academiae scientiarum Hungaricae
 ADFU Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka
 ADOG Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
Afgh. Stud. Afghan Studies
AJO Archiv für Orientforschung
AHR American Historical Review
AIPhO Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales
AJA American Journal of Archaeology
AJAH American Journal of Ancient History
AJP American Journal of Philology
AJSL(L) American Journal of Semitic Languages (and Literature)
 Akk. Akkadian
AMI Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran
Anat. Stud. Anatolian Studies
Anc. Eg. Ancient Egypt (and the East)
ANET Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, J. B. Pritchard. Princeton, 1969
Ann. Serv. Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte

An. Or. *Analecta Orientalia*

(An. Or. 8 = B 438)

ANRW *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*

ANSMN *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*

ANSP *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*

Ant. Class. Antiquité classique

AOF *Altorientalische Forschungen*

Arch. Anz. *Archäologischer Anzeiger*

Arch. Class. *Archeologia Classica*

Arch. Delt. *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*

Arch. Eph. *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*

Archiv Pap. *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*

Arch. Rep. *Archaeological Reports*

Arch. St. Pugliese *Archivio storico pugliese*

Arkh. Otkr. *Arkheologicheskie Otkrytiya*

Ar. Or. *Archiv Orientalni*

Art. A. *Artibus Asiae*

AS *Assyriological Studies*

Ath. Mitt. *Athenische Mitteilungen. Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*

Atti Soc. Tosc. Sc. Nat. *Atti della Società toscana di scienze naturali residente in Pisa*

AUSS *Andrews University Seminary Studies*

Bagh. Mitt. *Baghdader Mitteilungen*

BAR *British Archaeological Reports*

BASOR *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*

BCH *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*

BE *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts*

(BE 8 = B 377)

Bergk J. Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci* I–III. 4th edn. Leipzig, 1878–82

Bi. Ar. *Biblical Archaeologist*

Bibl. Éc. fr. Ath. et Rome *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*

BICS *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London*

BIN *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies*

(BIN 1 = B 407)

(BIN 2 = B 408)

Bi. Or. *Bibliotheca Orientalis*

BJRL *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*

BM *British Museum*

BMQ *British Museum Quarterly*

Boll. d'Arte *Bolletino d'Arte*

BOR *The Babylonian and Oriental Record*

BRM *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*

(BRM 1 = B 379)

BSA *Annual of the British School at Athens*

BSO(A)S *Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies, University of London*

BSR *Papers of the British School at Rome*

Bull. Inst. fr. Caire *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Le Caire*

Bull. Paletn. Ital. *Bulletino di paletnologia italiana*

CAD *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*

CAH *Cambridge Ancient History*

Camb. *Inscripfen von Cambyfes, J. N. Strassmaier. Leipzig, 1890*

CBS *Catalogue of the Babylonian Section, University Museum of Philadelphia*

CDAFI *Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran*

CHInd *Cambridge History of India*

CHIran *Cambridge History of Iran*

CHJud *Cambridge History of Judaism*

Chron. d'Ég. *Chronique d'Égypte*

CNRS *Centre national de recherches scientifiques*

CIS *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*

CJ *Classical Journal*

Class. et. Med. *Classica et Mediaevalia*

Cl. Phil. *Classical Philology*

Coll. Latomus *Collection Latomus*

Cowley, AP *A. E. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C. Oxford, 1923*

CQ *Classical Quarterly*

CR *Classical Review*

CRAI *Comptes-rendues de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*

CSCA *California Studies in Classical Antiquity*

CT *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*

(CT 55-7 = B 437)

CW *Classical Weekly*

Cyrus *Inscripfen von Cyrus, J. N. Strassmaier. Leipzig, 1890*

Dar. *Inscripfen von Darius, J. N. Strassmaier. Leipzig, 1897*

DGE *Dialectorum Graecarum Exempla Epigraphica, E. Schwyzer. Hildesheim, 1923*

Dial. di Arch. *Dialoghi di Archeologia*

Ditt. Syll. *W. Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum, 3rd edn. Leipzig, 1915-21*

D-K *H. Diels and W. Kranz, Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker 1-III. 6th edn. Berlin, 1951-2*

Doc. ant. ital. e romani *Documenti antichi italiani e romani*

Driver, AD *G. R. Driver, Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. Oxford, 1957*

EAA *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Rome, 1958-*

EGF *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, G. Kinkel. Leipzig, 1877*

FGrH *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, F. Jacoby. Berlin, 1922—

GCCI II *Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions* II, R. P. Dougherty. New Haven, 1933

GGM *Geographi Graeci Minores* I–III, C. Müller. Paris, 1855–82

GM *Göttinger Miszellen*

GRBS *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*

Hesp. *Hesperia*

Hist. Zeitschr. *Historische Zeitschrift*

HKL *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur* I–II, R. Borger. Berlin, 1967–75

HSCP *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*

HTbR *Harvard Theological Review*

HUCA *Hebrew Union College Annual*

IC *Inscriptiones Creticae*

ICA *Instituut voor Culturele Anthropologie*

IEJ *Israel Exploration Journal*

IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin, 1873—

IGCH *Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*, O. Mørkholm and C. M. Kraay. New York, 1973

ILLRP *Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Reipublicae* I–II, A. Degrassi. Göttingen, 1957–63

ILN *Illustrated London News*

ILS *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* I–III, H. Dessau. Berlin, 1892–1916

IMKU *Istoriya Materialnaya Kul'tury Uzbekistana*

Inscr. Olymp. *Olympia: die Ergebnisse . . . der Ausgrabung v: Die Inschriften*, W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold. Berlin, 1896

IOS *Israel Oriental Series*

Ir. Ant. *Iranica Antiqua*

Iz. ANTSSR, SON *Izvestiya Akademiyi Nauk Tadzhikskoy SSR, Seriya Obshchestvennykh Nauk*

JA *Journal asiatique*

Jabr. Num. und Geldgesch. *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*

JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*

JBL *Journal of Biblical Literature*

JCS *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*

JDAI *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*

JEAL *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*

JEOL *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap, 'Ex Oriente Lux'*

JHS *Journal of Hellenic Studies*

J. Jewish Stud. *Journal of Jewish Studies*

JNES *Journal of New Eastern Studies*

JNSI *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*

JÖAI *Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts*

JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*

- JRGS *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*
 JSOT *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
 JSS *Journal of Semitic Studies*
 JSSEA *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*
 JTS *Journal of Theological Studies*
- KAI *Kanaanaische und Aramaische Inschriften* I–III. H. Donner and W. Röllig.
 Wiesbaden, 1962–4 (2nd edn 1968)
 Kraeling, AP *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, E. G. Kraeling. New
 Haven, 1953
 KS *Kratkie Soobschchenya Instityta Arkheologii*
 KSIA *Kratkie Soobschchenya Instityta Narodov Asii*
- Mater. Yu. TAKE *Materialy Yuzhno-Turkmenistanskoi Arkheologicheskoi
 Komplekskoi Ekspeditsii*
 MDFA *Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*
 MDAIK *Mitteilungen des deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*
 MEFRA *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité*
 Mém. Ac. Inscr. B.L. *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*
 Mem. Am. Acad. Rome *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*
 Mem. Linc. *Memorie della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei*
 MIA *Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR*
 M–L R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*. Oxford, 1969
 Mon. Ant *Monumenti Antichi*
 Münst. Num. Zeit. *Münstersche Numismatische Zeitung*
 Mus. Helv. *Museum Helveticum*
 MVAG *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft*
- Nachr. der Akad. Göttingen *Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in
 Göttingen*
 NL *Nimrud Letter*, published Iraq 17 (1955) 127–30
 Not. Scav. *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*
 Num. Chron. *Numismatic Chronicle*
- OECT *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*
 OIP *Oriental Institute Publication*
 OP *Old Persian*
 Opusc. Rom. *Opuscula Romana*
 Or. *Orientalia*
 Or. Ant. *Oriens Antiquus*
 Or. Suecana *Orientalia Suecana*
- PAE *Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*
 Pal. Sbornik *Palestinsky Sbornik*
 PCIA *Popoli e Civiltà dell'Italia Antica*. Biblioteca di Storia Patria I–VII.
 Rome, 1974–8
 PCPhS *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*

PF Persepolis Fortification Text
 PFT *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, R. T. Hallock. Chicago, 1969
 PMG *Poetae Melici Graeci*, D. L. Page. Oxford, 1962
 PP *Parola del Passato*
 PPS *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*
 Proc. Br. Ac. *Proceedings of the British Academy*
 Przegląd histor. *Przegląd historyczny*
 PSBA *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
 PSI *Papiri Greci e Latini*, Pubblicazioni della Società italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto. 1912—
 PT Persepolis Treasury Text
 PTT *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, G. G. Cameron. Chicago, 1948
 P-W Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll-Mittelhaus, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart, 1893—

RA *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*
 RB *Revue biblique*
 RBPh *Revue belge de philologie*
 REA *Revue des études anciennes*
 REG *Revue des études grecques*
 REL *Revue des études latines*
 Rend. istit. Lomb. *Rendiconti del r. Istituto lombardo di scienze e lettere*
 Rend. Linc. *Rendiconti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei*
 Rev. Arch. *Revue archéologique*
 Rev. d'Égyptol. *Revue d'Égyptologie*
 Rev. Hist. *Revue historique*
 Rev. Int. des droits de l'Antiquité *Revue internationale des droits de l'Antiquité*
 Rev. Phil. *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*
 Rh. Mus. *Rheinisches Museum*
 Riv. di Filol. *Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica*
 Riv. stud. or. *Rivista degli studi orientali*
 RLA *Real-lexicon der Assyriologie*
 Röm. Mitt. *Römische Mitteilungen. Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*
 ROM Royal Ontario Museum
 ROM CT Royal Ontario Museum Studies in Cuneiform Texts
 (ROM CT 2 = B 420)

SAK *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*
 SOAC Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
 SBak. Berlin Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin
 SBAW Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
 SBWien Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
 SBWiss. Gesellschaft Sitzungsberichte der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft
 Schweiz. Num. Rundschau *Schweizer Numismatische Rundschau*

SCO *Studi classici ed orientali*

S.E. Seleucid Era

SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Leiden, 1923–

SGDI *Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* I–IV. H. Collitz and F. Bechtel. Göttingen, 1885–1910

Skt Sanskrit

SO *Symbolae Osloenses*

Sov. Arch. *Sovetskaya Archeologiya*

SPAW *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Academie der Wissenschaften*

SSL *Studi e saggi linguistici*

Stud. Etr. *Studi Etruschi*

Stud. Ir. *Studia Iranica*

Stud. Or. *Studia Orientalia*

SZ *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*

TAPA *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*

TAPS *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*

TAVO *Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients*

TCL *Textes Cunéiformes de Louvre* XII–XIII, G. Contenau. Ann Arbor, 1935

TKhE *Trudy Khorezmskoi Arkheologo-etnograficheskoi Ekspeditsii*

Tod, GHI M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*. Oxford, 1946–8

TPS *Transactions of the Philological Society*

Tr. Yu. TAKE *Trudy Yuzhno-Turkmenistanskoi Arkheologicheskoi Komplekskoi Ekspeditsii*

TSBA *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*

TSSI *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* I–III, J. C. L. Gibson. Oxford, 1971–82

UCP *University of California Publications in Semitic Philology*

UET I *Ur Excavation Texts* I, C. J. Gadd, L. Legrain, S. Smith. London, 1928

UET IV *Ur Excavation Texts* IV, H. H. Figulla. London, 1949

UVB *Vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen*

VAS *Vorderasiatische Studien*

VDI *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*

VS III–VI *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin* III–VI, A. Ungnad. Leipzig, 1907/8

We. Or. *Die Welt des Orients*

WS *Wiener Studien*

WVDOG *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*

WZKM *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*

YCS *Yale Classical Studies*

YNER *Yale Near Eastern Researches*

YOS Yale Oriental Studies

(YOS 3 = B 380)

(YOS 7 = B 463)

ZA *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*

ZÄS *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*

ZDMG *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

ZDPV *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*

ZKM *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*

ZPE *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

Achaemenid Royal Texts

A?P

DB

DNa

DNb

DPe

DPh

DSab

DSf

DSz

DZ

XDNb

XPf

XPg

XV

These texts are generally multilingual. For their Old Persian versions and bibliography see B 110; B 132. When other versions and later texts are involved, aid is given in the context.

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